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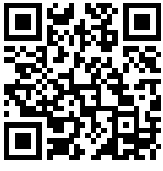

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE

ON SOME OF THE

MAYER PAPYRI,

AND THE

PALIMPSEST MS. OF URANIUS

BELONGING TO

M. SIMONIDES.

WITH

LETTERS FROM MM. PERTZ, EHRENBERG, AND DINDORF.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET;
TRÜBNER AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.
1863.

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JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, PRINTER,
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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE, ON THE EXHIBITION OF SOME PAPYRI BELONGING TO MR. MAYER, OF LIVERPOOL, AND OF THE MS. "URANIUS" BELONGING TO M. SIMONIDES.

SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

(Read February 11th, 1863.)

[Appended to this Report are Letters from various Members of the Royal Academy of Berlin, and a Report from Dr. Pertz, which throw much light upon the conduct of M. Simonides.—W. S. W. VAUX, *Hon. Secretary.*]

On Friday and Saturday, January 9th and 10th, a collection of Papyri from Mr. Mayer's Museum at Liverpool was placed upon the table of the Royal Society of Literature for the examination of such gentlemen as might be desirous of seeing them. Among those who availed themselves of this opportunity were Sir F. Madden, K.H., Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., Dr. Birch, Mr. Bonomi, the Rev. Dr. Cureton, Dr. Hunt, Mr. James Yates, Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., Mr. Bond, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Poole, the Rev. Mr. Hugo, Mr. Goodwin, and Dr. Guest. M. Simonides, accompanied by one of his Greek friends, was present during

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the whole time, and Mr. Hugo, Dr. Guest, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Bonomi, and Mr. Vaux attended during portions of each day, to represent the Society, as Members of its Council.

No formal decision was come to on either of these days with regard to the documents in question; that, indeed, being scarcely within the scope of the exhibition; the judgment, however, of nearly all who saw them was decidedly adverse to the genuineness of any of the MSS. so exhibited.

It was remarked, *inter alia*, that there was a manifest similarity in the handwriting of the whole of the papyri, although these professed to be of various epochs differing by centuries; and that letters of very different dates and of widely distinctive character, were frequently found in juxtaposition in the same papyrus, to such an extent, that, had they been met with in any mediæval document, a manuscript containing them would undoubtedly have been rejected as spurious.

Occasionally, too, the presumed ancient letters on the papyri bore a strangely suspicious resemblance to the characters of the modern Greek inscriptions placed over the head of each MS.; suggesting the idea that one and the same hand might possibly have written both.

Again, it was noticed that the colour of the papyri was, with two or three exceptions, wholly different from that invariably found on genuine documents of the same professed age and character, offering the strong probability that the papyri had been purposely discoloured before the present writing was put upon them. Lastly, it was observed that portions of papyri of different textures had been joined together so as to make up one piece; while

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it was asserted by more than one observer, that papyri differing in date by more than a thousand years had been pasted side by side. In many places, where there were rents, natural or accidental, in the substance of the papyri, the writing on them was bent in such a manner as to fit the existing crack or hole; and occasionally, as in fragment No. 7, the writing has been written round a rent previously made. Attention was also called to the breadth of these pieces of papyrus, or, rather, to the unusual length of the lines of writing on the majority of them; a fact which would lead to much suspicion as to their genuineness on the part of those best versed in palæographic studies.

Attention was called to the fact that the papyri exhibited were all fastened down (with one exception) on linen, in such a manner that it was impossible to see what had been on their reverse sides; and that, thus, no opinion could be formed as to the state of the papyrus when first unrolled, or whether there had been any hieratic or other writing on it, as is usually found in genuine documents. Although many questions were put to M. Simonides on this subject, the answers were evasive, and no more could be learnt than had been already published two years before by M. Simonides, viz. that he had unrolled from time to time certain papyri in Mr. Mayer's museum, and that he was, subsequently, permitted to take some portions of them to his own house for the purpose of deciphering them at his leisure.

In denial of the statement of M. Simonides that these papyri formed part of the collections of Mr. Stobart and of the late Mr. Sams, it was stated publicly by more than one gentleman who had repeatedly

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seen and handled both of these collections before they came into the possession of Mr. Mayer, that the MSS. exhibited bore no resemblance to any in those collections, and that Mr. Stobart himself, on the publication of Mr. Mayer's specimens, had expressed a similar opinion in the pages of the 'Athenæum.'

One papyrus was subjected to *minute* examination by a competent scholar, Mr. C. W. Goodwin. This document Mr. Goodwin found to contain at the top some lines of Greek writing, professing to be part of a letter from one Hermippus to his friend Horus. It is partially illegible, but has, in places, been retouched by an unskilful hand. After a space, it proceeds to notice a king of Diospolis, and adds "that he wrote in hieratic writing upon the gate of a temple;" the hieratic inscription he is asserted to have written immediately following.

Mr. Goodwin states that this inscription, which he recognizes as genuine, is part of one of those usually buried with the bodies of the dead; the name of the person with whom the papyrus was buried having been actually preserved. There can be no question, therefore, that the passage is simply funereal, and that it never was or could have been inscribed on the *pylon* of a temple. On further inspection, Mr. Goodwin noticed, upon the portion of the papyrus now covered with Greek writing, some small flecks of blotting-paper; and, from this, drew the natural inference that the upper portions of the Hieratic text had been removed by pressing on them damp blotting-paper, so as to admit of the subsequent insertion of the explanatory lines in Greek. It having been denied by M. Simonides that the writing could be so removed, Mr.

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Goodwin made the experiment, successfully, himself, on portions of two papyri, one of the eighth century B.C., and another of about the same date after Christ. There are absolute grounds, therefore, for concluding that the papyrus examined by Mr. Goodwin is a rank forgery, probably of very recent date.

Besides the Mayer MSS., M. Simonides exhibited two rolls of Hieratic writing, the genuineness of which was not doubted; and also the famous "Uranius," about which there has been so much discussion among the scholars of Germany. No definite conclusion, however, was drawn on either day with respect to this MS., because the fact whether the uncial letters do or do not underlie the later eleventh or twelfth-century writing, can only be determined by microscopic examination, for which there was no opportunity. It ought, however, be stated that, by such microscopic examination, the well-known microscopists, Professors Ehrenberg, Dove, and Magnus, did actually condemn it in January, 1856; that it was condemned again at the meeting of the British Association at Cambridge, in October, 1862; and, more than this, that a particular phrase, κατ' ἐμὴν ἰδέαν, originally occurring in it, and which had been objected to by scholars as unlike ancient Greek, has been, since its first examination by the German scholars, partially erased, and the phrase ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ substituted in its place.* It may also be added, that, in the opinion of those best qualified to speak on such a subject, the vellum upon which the presumed "Uranius" is written, is itself of the *eleventh*

* That this is really the fact, in spite of recent attempts to contradict it, is manifest from the letter of Professor Dindorf, *infrà*, p. 25, and from the facsimile which accompanies it.

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or *twelfth* century, and, therefore, that the date assigned by Simonides to his uncial writing could not be correct, even if the MS. of "Uranius" could be proved to be a genuine palimpsest.

I.

Dr. G. H. PERTZ *to* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., *etc.*, *Keeper of the Manuscripts, British Museum.*

Royal Library, Berlin,
January 15th, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter, dated the 10th inst., about M. Simonides, and will try to answer your questions about him and his MS. as well as I can.

1. Not Simonides, but Professor William Dindorf, of Leipzig, brought the said MS. entire, consisting of seventy-one leaves, to Berlin, and offered it for purchase to the Academy.

2. Those members of the Academy who took a particular interest in Egyptian, were hurried into the bargain, and Professor Lepsius in particular, who took the warmest interest, advanced 2000 thalers in order to secure the MS. at once. We others got no sight of the manuscript except during the hour from four to five o'clock in the dark afternoon of January 9th, 1856, when we were allowed to look at it by candle-light. There it struck me that the employment of hydrosulphuric acid produced not the usual greenish, but *over the whole parchment* a *blackish* tint; but since a col-

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league of mine, who had tried to scrape at a small part of the double ink, assured me that in fact the ink of the uncial writing (viz. of Uranios) was the *lower*, I did not then trouble myself about the manuscript, but only reminded my colleagues, however ineffectually, about the known character of Simonides.

But when M. Lepsius allowed me, towards the end of the month, to examine at home a part of the MS. in his possession, I convinced myself easily that the system of lining, visible on each leaf of the MS., had been intended not for the Uranios, but for the twelfth-century text, and that the text of Uranios, attached to the same system of lines, had afterwards been inserted. This, my conviction, I expressed in a memoir which I read in the Academy on the 31st of January, but which has not been printed.*

3. In the meanwhile M. Lepsius, who had, by transcribing the text, found that a forgery was at hand, and who was of course afraid of losing the 2000 thalers advanced, had gone to Leipzig, assisted by a Berlin police-officer, warned M. Dindorf, had Simonides arrested, and got his money back.

4. M. Lepsius then returned with Simonides to Berlin, and after having got my memoir and the opinions of my colleagues, read in the Royal Academy an *exposé*, in which he collected the result of our united opinions about the imposture: subsequently, MM. Ehrenberg, Dove, and Magnus, after microscopical examination, arrived at the same conviction; and so the subject was dropped, as far as the Academy was concerned. M. Ehrenberg and his scientific colleagues had also

* This memoir will be found at p. 17.

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found that the Uranios-writing passed over the minuscule text, which proved infallibly the imposture; but neither their opinions nor mine have ever been printed.

5. A Greek, named Lycurgus, published in the Leipzig and Berlin papers, articles against Simonides, and there arose some quarrel besides, in consequence of Simonides being carried to Berlin. Our judges released him after some days, as not belonging to their jurisdiction, and he left Berlin, returned to Leipzig, and, without further molestation, since nobody had any longer an interest in prosecuting him, set out for England.

6. No part of the Uranios was printed at Berlin, but the beginning of it at the Bodleian press at Oxford, a few copies of which have been obtained by M. Lepsius, and are still in his possession.

7. As to the present business, you will, I am sure, convince yourself easily of the real state of things by examining, as I did, the system of lines in regard to the two texts, the effect of hydrosulphuric acid on the colour of the parchment and of the Uranios text, and the laying of the Uranios text over the theological text.

Wishing you the best success, I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very truely,

PERTZ.

Pray let me know the result of your present transaction.

Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., etc.,
British Museum, London.

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II.

Dr. G. H. PERTZ *to* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., *etc.*, *Keeper of the Manuscripts, British Museum.*

Royal Library, Berlin,
January 29th, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,

In answer to your question about Simonides having ever sold together with his parchment MS. any copy of the text of Uranius, I can tell you that such a copy has never been presented or sold to us; and that the only mention of such a copy which I remember occurred in the later transactions, when M. Lepsius publicly blamed Professor Dindorf for not having mentioned to him (Prof. Lepsius) that Simonides had sold to M. Dindorf such a "copy," (or rather the original,) together with the parchment-text; as its appearance would have at once led to the discovery of the forgery.

As to the contents of my last letter, I have no objection to your making use of them as far as you think proper, and could, also, in case you wanted it, let you have a copy of my memoir of January 30th, 1856.

Believe me, my dear Sir, truely yours,

G. H. PERTZ.

Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., etc.,
British Museum, London.

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III.

M. Ehrenberg *to* W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., *Honorary Secretary to the Royal Society of Literature.*

Berlin, den 19 Febr. 1863.

Mein Herr,

In Erwiderung auf Ihr geehrtes Schreiben vom 24. Januar, 1863, beehrt sich die Königliche Academie der Wissenschaften Folgendes über die den falschen Uranios des Simonides betreffenden hiesigen Vorgänge zur Kenntniss der Royal Society of Literature zu bringen.

Am 9. Januar, 1856, legte der als Handschriftenkenner wohl angesehene Professor Wilh. Dindorf, aus Leipzig, der Königl. Academie eine ihm von Simonides überlassene Handschrift aus dem 12ten Jahrhundert zum Ankauf vor, welche, nach seinen, wie er behauptete, sorgfältigsten Untersuchungen, ein Palimpsest sein, und von erster Hand drei Bücher der Aegyptischen Geschichte der Urianos enthalten sollte. Einige unbedeutende Stellen des angeblichen, in Unzialen der ersten Jahrhunderte geschriebenen Urtextes waren durch Reagenzien sichtbar gemacht worden, und schienen sowohl durch ihren unverfänglichen Inhalt, als durch die geschickte paläographische Behandlung, die Behauptung des genannten Gelehrten vollkommen zu rechtfertigen. Zu einer genauen Untersuchung der Handschrift war aber weder Zeit noch Gelegenheit gegeben, bis sich H. Dindorf entschloss, sie, gegen ein ansehnliches pecuniäres Depositum und die in Aussichtstellung des Ankaufs, in den Händen des H. Lepsius zurückzulassen. Sobald dieser durch Reagenzien einen grösseren Theil des Unzialtextes auf-

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gedeckt hatte, überzeugte er sich aus philologisch-historischen Gründen bald, dass derselbe eine moderne Fälschung sei. Da die Darlegung dieser Ueberzeugung aber noch nicht zur Ueberführung des Fälschers hingereicht haben würde, so suchte sich derselbe nun auch materieller Beweise aus der Handschrift zu versichern, um den Betrug augenfällig zu constatiren. Fünf Punkte, die sich hierbei feststellen liessen, wurden in einer Conferenz mehreren Academikern, namentlich auch den Herrn Ehrenberg und Magnus, zur Prüfung vorgelegt und von diesen bestätigt. Bei der Wichtigkeit welche diese materiellen Gründe auch für jede spätere Wiederaufnahme der Untersuchung haben dürften, mögen hier die beiden entscheidendsten aufgeführt werden. Die blassgelbliche Eisenauflösung, mit welcher der Unzialtext geschrieben war, erschien zuweilen in den für den Text des 12ten Jahrhunderts gezogenen, und in das Pergament eingedruckten Linien, welche die Zeilen schieden und den Rand verzierten, etwas ins Breite geflossen, und musste daher aus späterer Zeit als die Linien, welche dazu Veranlassung gegeben hatten, datiren. Ferner zeigte sich, dass die Unzialschrift, welche bei Anwendung der Reagenzien sehr schnell und tief schwarz wurde, sich da, wo sie die Schrift des 12ten Jahrhunderts kreuzte, von der letzteren, welche nur langsam dunkler wurde, deutlich als von einem helleren Grunde abhob, und folglich über derselben, nicht unter derselben geschrieben sein konnte.

Nachdem diese und andere Thatsachen festgestellt worden waren, wurde zu einer Verhaftung des Simonides in Leipzig, im Beisein des H. Lepsius geschritten, und bei dieser Gelegenheit der vollständige

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Apparat, sowohl an litterarischen, als an chemischen Hülfsmitteln, welche augenscheinlich zur Fälschung dieser und anderer Handschriften gedient hatten, in Beschlag genommen. Eine längere Untersuchungshaft des Simonides in Berlin gab Gelegenheit, sich von der eigenthümlichen und mit seltenem Geschick betriebenen litterarischen Thätigkeit, welche sich derselbe zur Lebensaufgabe gemacht zu haben scheint, auf das vollständigste zu unterrichten, und eine Verurtheilung desselben würde hiernach voraussichtlich erfolgt sein, wenn der zunächst vorliegende Betrug nicht gegen H. Dindorf, also in Sachsen, verübt worden wäre, so dass ein preussisches Forum darüber nicht zu erkennen hatte. Was die noch besonders gestellte Frage des geehrten Schreibens über den Text des Uranios betrifft, so ist hierauf zu erwidern, dass H. Dindorf eine ihm von Simonides zugestellte vollständige oder fast vollständige Abschrift, das heisst die wirkliche Urschrift, der drei Bücher des Uranios, seit mehreren Monaten besass, ohne dass weder die Academie noch im Besondern H. Lepsius davon unterrichtet worden war, und dass derselbe bereits gegen Ende des Jahres 1855 ein Specimen davon mit einer Einleitung in den Druck gegeben hatte, under dem Titel: "Uranii Alexandrini de Regibus Ægyptiorum libri tres. Operis ex codice Palimpsesto edendi specimina proposuit Gulielmus Dindorfius; Oxonii e Typographeo Academico, 1856," wovon einige Exemplare auch nach Berlin gelangt sind.

Mit der vollkommensten Hochachtung bin ich, mein Herr,—Ihr ganz ergebenster

EHRENBERG,

Vorsitzender Secretär der K. Academie der Wissenschaften.

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IV.

[*Translation of the preceding.*]

Berlin, 19 Febr., 1863.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 29th of January, 1863, the Royal Academy of Sciences has the honour to bring the following circumstances, relating to the events that have happened here in connection with the forged Uranius of Simonides, to the knowledge of the Royal Society of Literature.

On the 9th of January, 1856, Professor W. Dindorf, of Leipzig, of great repute as a palæographer (*Handschriftenkenner*), put before the Royal Academy a MS. of the twelfth century, left in his hands for sale by Simonides, which, as he asserted, after the most careful investigation, he thought to be a palimpsest, and to contain, in the original hand, three books of the Egyptian history of Uranius. A few unimportant passages of the supposed original text, written in uncial letters of the first centuries, had been rendered visible by the application of reagents, and appeared, both by their unsuspicious (*unverfänglich*) contents, and their skilful palæographic execution, to justify the assertion of the above-named scholar. However, neither time nor opportunity was afforded for a more accurate investigation, till M. Dindorf, for a considerable pecuniary deposit, and the prospect of its being bought, agreed to place it in the hands of M. Lepsius.

As soon as M. Lepsius had brought to view a larger portion of the uncial text, he was convinced, both on philological and historical grounds, that it was a

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modern forgery. But as his mere assertion on these grounds would not have sufficed for the conviction of the forger, he endeavoured to deduce also *material* proofs of forgery from the MS. itself. Five points of this nature were established and submitted for examination at a conference of academicians, particularly MM. Ehrenberg and Magnus, and were by them confirmed. Considering the importance of these *material* arguments to every later renewal of the investigation, we subjoin the two most decisive ones. The pale yellowish solution of iron, with which the uncial text was written, appeared in various instances to have spread (*ins Breite geflossen*) into the strokes ruled for the text of the twelfth-century MS., and which divided the lines of writing and bordered the margin; and it (the uncial writing) must therefore be of a later period than the strokes (or ruled lines) which caused the spreading.

It was further seen that the uncial writing which, under the influence of the reagents, became quickly of a deep black, stood out distinctly, as from a clearer background, wherever it crossed the writing of the twelfth century, which only became darker after a time; consequently the uncial must have been written above and not below it.

These and other facts being established, Simonides, in the presence of M. Lepsius, was taken into custody at Leipzig; and on that occasion, the complete apparatus, both literary and chemical, which had clearly served for the forgery of these and other MSS., was confiscated. A lengthened detention of Simonides at Berlin (before his trial) afforded the opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the peculiar and

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rare ability and literary activity evinced by this man, in what he seems to have made the business of his life.

With regard to the special question contained in your letter respecting the text of Uranius, I have to reply that M. Dindorf possessed for many months a complete or almost complete copy, that is to say, the real original, of the three books of the Uranius, furnished him by Simonides; without either the Academy or more particularly M. Lepsius having been informed of it; and that M. Dindorf had already, towards the end of 1855, sent to press a specimen of it, together with an introduction, under the title, "Uranii Alexandrini de Regibus Ægyptiorum libri tres. Operis ex codice palimpsesto edendi specimina proposuit Gulielmus Dindorfius. Oxonii: e Typographeo Academico, 1856," of which a few copies have reached Berlin.

EHRENBERG,
Chief Secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq.,
Hon. Sec. of Royal Society of Literature.

V.

Report of Dr. G. H. PERTZ, *on the Manuscript of the Uranius, presented to the Royal Academy of Berlin, January* 30*th*, 1856.

[*Hitherto Unprinted.*]

UEBER DIE HANDSCHRIFT DES URANIOS.

Bei der Untersuchung über die Aechtheit einer wichtigen bisher unbekannten Schrift, eines Buches

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oder einer Urkunde, ist die Art ihrer Einführung in die Welt, ihres ersten Erscheinens, von entscheidender Wichtigkeit. Das alte Sprüchwort: "Der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamme," bewährt sich dabei oft auf überraschende Weise. So musste denn auch die Erscheinung einer aus der Hand des bekannten Griechen Simonides herrührenden Handschrift des Uranios mit Recht mit dem grössten Misstrauen aufgenommen werden, welches durch die Form der über die Erwerbung der Handschrift angeknüpften Unterhandlung nicht vermindert, und gesteigert ward durch die in Verbindung mit diesem Funde angekündigten 76 Handschriften, wovon 46 Palimpseste enthalten sollten, *eine* auch gleich die fehlenden litterarischen Nachweisungen über den neuauftretenden Schriftsteller darbot. Die ausserordentliche Eile, womit auf Anlass des Leipziger Vermittlers die Unterhandlung betrieben ward, gestattete nicht eine eingehende Untersuchung der Handschrift mit denjenigen Mitteln anzustellen, welche durch die Natur der Sache erfordert werden. Um sich über einen Gegenstand dieser Art vollständig zu unterrichten und ein begründetes Urtheil abgeben zu können, bedarf man einer ruhigen Untersuchung bei klarem Tageslichte, wo möglich bei Sonnenlichte; die Mitglieder der Akademie aber hatten sich mit einer oberflächlichen Kenntnissnahme zu begnügen, welche, mit Ausnahme der ersten Seite, die auf mich nicht einen günstigen Eindruck machte, im Ganzen befriedigend schien. Erst gestern wurde mir durch die Güte unseres Collegen Herrn Lepsius eine eigene sorgfältige Untersuchung einer Lage der Handschrift gestattet, welche mich zu folgenden Bemerkungen veranlasst.

Das Pergament, aus welchem die Handschrift be-

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steht, grosse, starke, wohl erhaltene Blätter, sind mit der zwiefachen Schrift in der Art bedeckt, dass die kleinere braune, auf die auch bei uns gewöhnliche Art nach unten einen breiteren Rand lässt als nach oben, wogegen die grosse hellgelbe Schrift des Uranios auf dem Kopfe steht, mit ihrer obersten Zeile unter die unterste der kleineren Schrift hervorragt, und dennoch einen bedeutend kleinern Rand nach unten als über ihrer obersten Zeile offen lässt. Es entspricht also das Verhältniss der kleineren Schrift zu ihrem Pergamente dem gewöhnlichen Gebrauch bei Handschriften, wovon ein Verhältniss wie das der grossen Schrift zu ihrem Pergamentraum die Ausnahme bildet.

Die für die Richtung des Schreibers erforderlichen Linien, welche auf dem Pergament erscheinen, gehören —sowohl die wagerechten mit einer Ausnahme, als die senkrechten Linien—nicht der grösseren sondern der kleineren Schrift an.

Das Liniensystem für dieselbe besteht auf jeder Seite aus 7 senkrechten und 36 wagerechten Linien, wovon eine senkrechte den äussern Rand in der Art begrenzt, dass das darüber hinausliegende Stück nach Belieben und ohne Beeinträchtigung des Ansehens der Handschrift beschnitten werden kann, während die 6 übrigen senkrechten Linien die beiden Schriftcolumnen, je eine nach innen und je zwei nach aussen, begrenzen. Von den 36 wagerechten sind 32 für eben so viele Schriftzeilen bestimmt, und je zwei laufen in der Entfernung von etwas mehr als einem Zolle oberhalb und unterhalb der Schriftcolumnen, und lassen jenseits noch einen leeren Raum zu beliebiger Verwendung. Diese Linien sind mittelst des Griffels nach Leitung der an den äussersten Rändern eingestochenen Stiche oder Punkte

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gezogen. Die Frage, für welche Schrift, die grosse oder die kleine, dieses Liniensystem gezogen worden, beantwortet sich aus der ganz durchgehenden Wahrnehmung, dass die 32 Textlinien nur für die 32 Texteszeilen der kleineren Schrift, nicht für die der grossen passen. Denn die grosse Schrift zählt nicht 32, sondern je 33 Zeilen, für die 33te Zeile aber ist fast ohne Ausnahme keine Linie vorhanden, und selbst in den sehr wenigen Malen wo doch eine Linie dafür sich vorfindet, fehlt an der äussersten Seite der Punktstich, wodurch sie ihre Richtung erhalten müsste. Hinsichtlich der senkrechten Linien zeigt sich gleichfalls, dass sie sich dem Texte der kleineren Schrift anschliessen, während die grössere am Ende der Zeilen sich sehr häufig nicht daran bindet, sondern beträchtlich darüber hinausläuft. Forscht man nun weiter, nach welchen Linien sich denn die grosse Schrift gerichtet hat, so findet man keine andere sichtbar, als jene vereinzelten Beispiele der Linie für die 33te Zeile, welche dem Liniensystem der kleineren Schrift fremd ist; in allen übrigen Fällen, also in der fast ausschliesslichen Regel, zeigt die grosse Schrift ohne sichtbare eigene Linien die Richtung der kleineren Schrift, indem die Linie, auf welcher die kleine Schrift steht, unmittelbar über sich die auf dem Kopfe hangende grosse Schriftzeile trägt. Dieses Verhältniss zeigt sich am vollkommensten auf der ersten Seite des Uranios, wo die Zeilen der grossen Schrift aufs Genaueste an den Linien hangen, die erste Zeile aber ohne Linie ist.

Es hat demnach die grosse Schrift, zu deren Richtung nur einzelne wenige Linien der obersten Zeile gezogen sind, überhaupt kein eigenes Liniensystem gehabt, da

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ja die Linien, woran sie hängt, dem System der kleineren Schrift angehören. Da sie aber eines Liniensystemes bedurfte, wie gerade jene wenigen Hülfslinien beweisen, da sie ferner dem Liniensystem der kleineren Schrift gefolgt ist, und nur ihre oberste Zeile mit jenen wenigen Ausnahmen frei geschrieben hat, so folgt daraus, dass jene wenigen Hülfslinien der grossen Schrift für die 33te Zeile und die grosse Schrift selbst, jünger sind als das Liniensystem der kleineren Schrift und als die kleine Schrift selbst.

Ist dieses der Fall, so muss an denjenigen sehr häufigen Stellen wo die beiden Schriftarten über einander gehen, die hellgelbe Dinte die obere, die braune hingegen die untere sein. Dass dieses sich so verhalte, erscheint dem blossen Auge an mehreren Stellen nicht zweifelhaft, und wird durch chemische und mikroskopische Untersuchung bestätigt.

Ich halte mich daher überzeugt, dass die kleinere Schrift älter ist als die grosse, und da die letztere dennoch für älter ausgegeben wird, dass die grosse Schrift, mithin das ganze angebliche Werk des Uranios, ein neueres Machwerk sein muss.

(Gez.) PERTZ.

Berlin, den 30. Januar, 1856.

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VI.

[*Translation of the preceding Report.*]

ON THE MANUSCRIPT OF URANIUS.

In examining into the genuineness of a hitherto unknown writing, book, or document, the manner of its introduction into the world—of its first appearance—is of decisive importance. The old proverb "The apple does not fall far from the stem," is therein often shown in a surprising manner. Thus, the appearance of a manuscript of Uranius coming from the hand of the well-known Greek, Simonides, had justly to be received with the greatest distrust, which was not diminished by the mode in which the sale of the manuscript was negotiated, and was heightened by the seventy-six manuscripts announced in connection with this find, forty-six of which were said to contain palimpsests, while *one* offered at once the wanting literary references of the authors who there made their first appearance. The extraordinary hurry with which the negotiations were carried on by the Leipsic mediator, did not allow a closer investigation of the manuscript, by the aid of such means as the nature of the subject rendered necessary. In order to gain full information on a subject of this kind, and to be able to give a well-founded judgment, quiet investigation by clear daylight, if possible by sunlight, is necessary. The members of the Academy, however, had to be satisfied with a superficial view, which (except the first page, which did not make a favourable impression upon me) seemed satisfactory on the whole. Only yesterday I was al-

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lowed, by the courtesy of our colleague Herr Lepsius, to make a careful individual examination of a part of the manuscript, which induces me to offer the following observations:—

The parchment of which the manuscript consists—great, strong, well-preserved leaves—is covered with the twofold writing in such a manner that the smaller, or brown one, shows, in the manner common with us, a broader margin below than above, while the large light-yellow writing of the Uranius lies a-top of it, projecting with its uppermost line under the lowest of the smaller writing, and yet leaves a much smaller margin below than above its uppermost line. The proportion of the smaller writing to its parchment thus corresponds to the ordinary fashion in manuscripts, of which a proportion like that of the large writing to the space of its parchment forms the exception.

The ruled lines necessary for guiding the scribe, which appear in the parchment, belong, both the horizontal—with the exception of one ruled line—and the perpendicular, not to the larger but to the smaller writing. The system of ruled lines for this consists, on each page, of seven perpendicular and thirty-six horizontal ruled lines, of which one perpendicular borders the outer margin in such a manner that the piece beyond it may be trimmed off *ad libitum* without detriment to the appearance of the manuscript, while the remaining perpendicular ruled lines border the two columns of writing, one at the inside and two at the outside, for each. Of the thirty-six horizontal, thirty-two are appropriated for the same number of written lines, and two run at a distance of something more than an inch, both above and below the written columns, and leave beyond an

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empty space, to be used at pleasure. These lines are ruled with the *stylus*, in accordance with certain pricks or dots indented into the outer margins. The question whether this system of lines is ruled for the larger or for the smaller writing is answered by the fact that, throughout the manuscript, the thirty-two ruled lines for the text fit the thirty-two written lines of the smaller, but not of the larger writing; for the large writing does not count thirty-two but thirty-three written lines to a page, there being for the thirty-third written line almost without exception no ruled line, and in those very few cases where one is found, the prick or dot at the outer side, by which it would receive its direction, is wanting. In the same manner, it is evident with respect to the perpendicular lines that they enclose the text of the smaller writing; while, in the larger writing, the end of the lines in general takes no notice of them, but goes beyond them considerably.

If you inquire what ruled lines the larger writing has taken for its guidance, you find none, except in a few instances a ruled line for the thirty-third written line, and which is foreign to the lineal system of the smaller writing; in all other cases, and therefore almost exclusively, the large writing, with no visible ruled lines of its own, follows the direction of the smaller writing, since the ruled line upon which the smaller writing stands, bears immediately over it the written line of larger writing hanging a-top of it. This relation is most completely visible in the first line of the Uranius, where the written lines of the large writing follow most accurately the ruled lines, while the first written line of the text has no ruled line. Thus the large writing, for the direction of which only a few lines are

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ruled for the uppermost written line of text, has had no lineal system of its own, inasmuch as the ruled lines by which it is guided, belong to the system of the smaller writing.

Since, however, it required a lineal system of its own, as those few auxiliary ruled lines prove, and since, further, it followed the lineal system of the smaller writing, and has written only its uppermost line without any aid, except in those few cases; it follows that those few auxiliary lines ruled for the thirty-third written line of the larger writing, as well as the larger writing itself, are more recent than the lineal system of the smaller writing, and therefore than the smaller writing itself.

It follows, that in those very frequent instances where the two kinds of writing lie one upon the other, the bright-yellow ink must be the upper, the brown one the lower. That this really is the case appears unmistakably to the naked eye in several places, and is confirmed by chemical and microscopical investigation.

I am therefore convinced that the smaller writing is older than the large, and that as the latter is, notwithstanding this, asserted to be the older, the large writing, and thus the whole supposed work of Uranius, must be a fabrication.

(Signed) PERTZ.

Berlin, Jan. 30, 1856.

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VII.

Letter from Professor W. DINDORF, *of Leipsic, to* Sir F. MADDEN, K.H., *Keeper of the Manuscripts, British Museum.*

Leipsic, April 13, 1863.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 10th instant, for the contents of which I was fully prepared by the two articles of Mr. J. E. Hodgkin in the 'Athenæum,' No. 1848, p. 427, and Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, in the same paper, No. 1849, p. 461, both of whom ought to have applied to myself before they published their remarks; in which case they would have received from me such explanations on the passage of the so-called Uranius as would have been more than sufficient to destroy the fictions of Simonides to the last point, and to show, in the clearest way, by what means he attempts to deceive your learned countrymen. The statement of Mr. Vaux (p. 461), "The text as it appears in Dindorf's (suppressed) edition, which Simonides asserts to have been an intentional misreading on the part of the German scholar, but which we know was edited by Dindorf from a copy supplied to him by Simonides himself, *Τὰς μὲν τῶν βασιλέων ἀναγραφὰς εἰς τρεῖς συνώψισα βίβλους, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τὰ τούτων νόμιμα εἰς πέντε, τὰς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἰκήσεις, τὰς καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων κατ' ἐμὴν ἰδέαν σπουδαίας, εἰς ἕξ*," is quite correct as regards the last words, viz. "but which" to "*εἰς ἕξ*:" and the assertion of Simonides that I have intentionally misrepresented the reading of the manuscript is not only absurd in itself,—for if there had been any reason for making a correction, it would cer-

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tainly never have occurred to me to introduce into the text two such suspicious corrections as the verb *συνώψισα* and the phrase *κατ' ἐμὴν ἰδέαν* are,—but also so ridiculous that I, on reading it, did not feel injured, but highly amused by the simplicity of its inventor; who, having received back his very legible transcript, from which I had copied the first few pages of the work, seems to fancy that it is no longer in my power to refute his assertions in a striking manner.

It is clear that Simonides is not aware of my having procured, as soon as he had delivered to me his manuscript, a facsimile of the first page, which I enclose, with the request that you will return it to me in the course of this or the next month, after having used it for whatever purpose you please. It was made neither by myself nor by any other scholar,—who might possibly have applied to obscure passages his own criticism, as we have often observed in interpolated transcripts of effaced inscriptions or manuscripts,—but by an impartial person, a young lady, who did not understand a single Greek word, and reproduced, as well as she could, the uncial letters of the manuscript, in the same merely mechanical way in which she would have delineated Egyptian hieroglyphics or Turkish letters, and caring very little about the cursive letters in which the genuine text of the manuscript has been written, in the eleventh century, as you may see from the illegible fragments of cursive letters which she has mixed in her facsimile with the uncials. It was not, indeed, necessary for her to have troubled herself with copying the cursive writing, for I had told her that the uncials only were requisite for my purpose. The following facsimile contains the passage to which your letter refers:—

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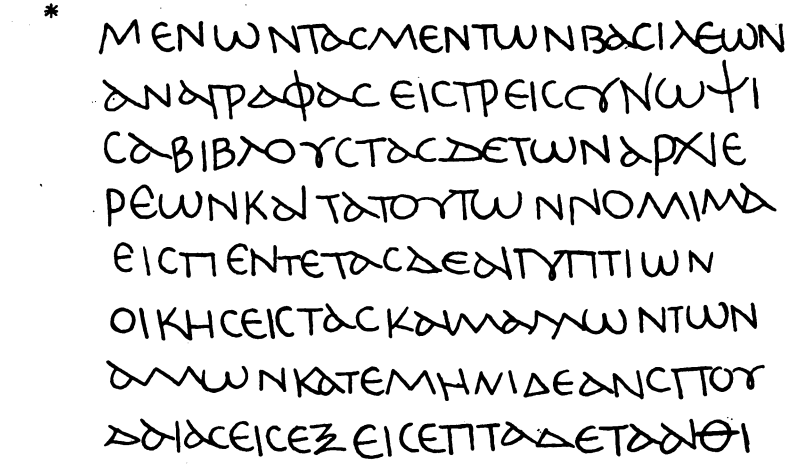

You see from this that the words *εἰς τρεῖς συνώψισα βίβλους* and *τὰς καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων κατ' ἐμὴν ἰδέαν* were written in the manuscript, when it was in my hands, so clearly that even my facsimilist, who had no idea of the meaning of the words, could not be mistaken. The assertion of Mr. Hodgkin (p. 427), that the last words now look in the manuscript nearly thus:—

ΑΛΛωΝωΣΕΜ.ΙΔ.κΕΙΣΠοΥ

and that "there is no foundation whatever for the statement that an erasure has been made and other letters substituted; on the contrary, careful microscopical investigation shows that this part of the text is in the same state as the rest,"—if it be correct, does not prove anything else than that Simonides has been sly enough not to make an erasure, which would have led to the detection of his fraud; but that he thought it better to efface the former letters without spoiling the parchment,—an easy matter for a man so skilled in

* The above facsimile has been lithographed by Mr. Frederick Netherclift from the pencil-tracing enclosed in Professor Dindorf's letter.—W. S. W. V.

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such practices, especially with the liquor with which the uncials of his manuscript had been written by himself. Nor is it obscure for what purpose he undertook to falsify his own former writing. He had been informed that objections had been made to the use of the verb *συνώψισα* and the phrase *κατ' ἐμὴν ἰδέαν*, which was taken for *κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν*,—of which no example has been produced in my article on the word *ἰδέα* in the Paris 'Thesaurus,' vol. iv. pp. 506, 507, nor in other dictionaries. Instead of arguing against these objections in a skilful manner, he gave way to them, and falsified his former writing in a manner adapted in some degree to his new text, mentioned by Mr. Vaux:

E[N] τρ[Ι]Σ[Ι] ΣΥΝ[ΕΓρΑ]ψ[Α] ΒΙΒΛο[Ι]Σ
ΚΑΙ [Ω]Σ ΕΜ[ο]Ι Δ[οκ]Ε[Ι]

stating at the same time that "the words in the original are so nearly obliterated by age that only a few of the letters (in that passage) are clearly legible;" which, were it true, would be an undeniable proof that the lady who, without any knowledge of Greek writing, made the above facsimile, must have been favoured, at the time she made it, with *θείᾳ τινὶ καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ ἐμπνεύσει*, like Demetrius Triclinius, when he wrote his treatises on Dramatic Metres. (See my Oxford edition of the Scholia to Aristophanes, vol. i. p. 44.)

You are authorized to publish this letter, if you think it worth while.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very truely,

W. Dindorf.

Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., etc.,
Keeper of the Manuscripts, British Museum.

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